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EDUCATION BY EXPOSURE

By Mrs. Oscar M. Ruebhausen, Observer for the League of Women Voters at the United Nations

To see ourselves as others see us is one of the revealing outcomes of the review of world problems undertaken by the General Assembly of the United Nations. Speaking sometimes in unison and sometimes in discord, the delegates of 82 nations expose their aspirations, their needs, and the obstacles others place in their way.

To the small, underdeveloped country, establishing its own expensive military force seems like financial suicide when its meager resources are so in demand to develop higher standards of living for its impoverished people. To a NATO power, fearful of the U.S.S.R.'s ability to gobble up a defenseless nation, military preparedness seems a prerequisite to survival.

To the Russians, the disarmament negotiations, conducted in a subcommittee where they are usually outvoted 4 to 1, seem rigged against them. They suspect that the committee is out to curtail Soviet power and that inspection would provide an opportunity for spies to infiltrate their country. The other members of the Disarmament Subcommittee feel that, because nations do not trust each other, inspection is an indispensable safeguard to insure that countries live up to their agreements.

To the United States, selling farm surpluses at reduced prices to needy countries seems like a worthwhile program. To our competitors, who are trying to sell grain at market prices, U. S. action is called "dumping" and is considered unfriendly.

To the French, giving the untrained Algerian natives control of their government is not only irresponsible, but dangerous. On the other hand, the natives complain that since they outnumber the French residents in Algeria 9 to 1, it is unfair for the French residents to have controlling power.

Thus, in all of these vital issues there are strong feelings on several sides. In most cases, the hard core of opinion at either extreme does not shift much, but, as the debates go on, there does develop an informed public opinion in the center which seeks to find a few places where the viewpoints of the opposing parties can be welded together to form a new policy. When this process works successfully, negotiated compromises are possible. But when the debates get too angry, the accusations of the opposing parties tend to harden the existing positions and stalemates arise. In any event, discussions at the U. N. serve to widen the horizons of the 82 delegations whose members become exposed to problems they hardly knew existed. The educational value of this experience cannot be overemphasized.

DECISIONS, QUESTIONS

In many ways the Twelfth General Assembly was a return to normal and a tidying up of the leftover business from last year's crises in Hungary and Suez. Opening early, with a special session to consider the report of its 5-member Special Committee on Hungary, the U. N. voted 60 to 10, with 10 abstentions, to uphold the

Committee's report that the revolt in Hungary had been a free uprising of the people and that the U.S.S.R. should be condemned for sending in troops.

While this vote was a triumph for the free world in its fight against communism, an issue which was not on the U. N. agenda, but yet discussed daily, cast shadows over the victory. The trouble which arose from the integration issue in Little Rock took the world spotlight away from criticism of Russia and focused it on the United States. The merciless glare of this spotlight was felt when the Russian delegate rose to speak in the General Assembly and told Mr. Gunewardene, the Ambassador from Ceylon, that he would be safer in the streets of Budapest than he would in Little Rock.

Nor was the world's picture of life in the United States improved when the delegate from Nepal was stabbed while taking an early evening stroll in Central Park.

This question of how the United States treats a colored minority at home is a sensitive and important issue to the rest of the world where only one person out of four is white. If the United States is to exert leadership, it cannot do it by dollars alone. We must also live up to our beliefs in the dignity of man and the right of all citizens to equal opportunities.

TO KEEP THE PEACE

Another tough issue, produced by the Suez crisis, was the future financing of the U. N. Emergency Force. A real miracle of coopera-

tion took place in 1956 when nations rallied to send troops to Egypt in a hurry. These men were not to be used as a fighting force but to perform the functions of a policeman in maintaining order. Competent observers agree that this beginning effort of the U. N. at collective security was a tremendous success and that the presence of troops has prevented the renewal of hostilities on the Egyptian-Israeli border.

However, the real test of approval comes in one's willingness to pay for a successful project. In 1956 the General Assembly voted to assess its members for the first \$10 million of UNEF's cost according to the percentages that U. N. members pay to the regular U. N. budget. Voluntary contributions were to make up the expected \$15 million of additional costs.

With the opening of this session of the General Assembly it became apparent that some countries had not yet paid their assessments and that the voluntary contributions were not pouring in despite a gen-

erous gift from the United States.

The future financing of UNEF was in jeopardy. The alternatives were to eliminate UNEF and risk renewed war, seek voluntary contributions from the richer countries, or establish the principle of member assessments for a U. N. responsibility. I can remember talking to one Latin American delegate who said, "Why should my country be forced to pay for keeping the peace in an area far removed from us?"

But gradually his question got answered through the educational process of exposing delegates to the evidence of interdependence of the world.

Perhaps the most important success of this General Assembly is that the nations finally did assume their world responsibility and voted to assess themselves to cover the costs of UNEF through 1958. It is a real achievement that the nations were willing to commit themselves to providing such a large sum of money. They subscribed \$29 million, which is over one half

of what they pay to the regular U. N. budget.

The Soviet bloc, which is obligated for about 20 percent of the

TRADE FIRST

A new 60-member World Trade Advisory Committee includes one woman and she is a member of the national Board of the League of Women Voters—Mrs. Oscar M. Ruebhausen.

The Committee was established by U. S. Secretary of Commerce Weeks to advise the Department in formulating policies and programs promoting international trade, travel, and investment. Members were invited to serve on the basis of their business experience and interest in foreign trade. The first of four meetings a year was held in December.

money, has refused to pay on the ground that the costs should be carried by Britain, France, and Israel because their attacks on Egypt necessitated UNEF.

Despite the reluctance of some countries to go along, the basic principle has been established that all member states are committed to pay for the maintenance of a

LWV EDUCATION FUND

After many years of discussion and consultation the League of Women Voters Education Fund has been organized. A year of trial operation has been made possible by the faith and generosity of 11 Founders.

The legal document under which the Fund operates is called a Trust Agreement, which states the purpose of the Fund: "The Fund is organized and shall be operated exclusively for educational purposes, and for other charitable, scientific and literary purposes."

In accordance with the provisions of the Trust Agreement, five Trustees have been elected by the Board of Directors of the League of Women Voters of the United States to serve until June 1958. The Trustees selected their own officers.

It is the intent of the Fund to make and publish studies which provide nonpartisan factual information of interest to the general public.

As a result of legal advice, a simple study of some part of the federal government, culminating in a publication, is planned as the

project for the first year. This would be the first of a series of such publications on the structure and functions of the federal government. Such a series, designed primarily for use by adults, would fill a great need and contribute to the education of the individual.

It should be understood that the Fund at this stage is experimental only. An agreement has been worked out with the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund to clear the work of both funds so as to prevent duplication.

Founders: Mrs. Herbert H. D'Autremont, Tucson, Arizona; Mrs. Robert L. DeNormandie, Lincoln, Massachusetts; Mrs. George Gellhorn, St. Louis, Missouri; Dr. Louis M. Hellman, Greenvale, New York; Mrs. Frank P. Hixon, Lake Forest, Illinois; Mrs. Karl H. Lang, Louisville, Kentucky; Mrs. Victor W. Knauth, Wilton, Connecticut; Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride, Cleveland, Ohio; Mrs. Allan C. G. Mitchell, Bloomington, Indiana; Mrs. Douglas M. Moffat, New York, New York; Mrs. James W. Morrisson, Groton, Connecticut.

Trustees: Mrs. Werner J. Blanchard, Chairman, Dayton, Ohio; Mrs. Donald F. Bishop, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Harold D. Dyke, Syracuse, New York; Mrs. John G. Lee, Farmington, Connecticut; Mrs. A. A. Treuhart, Cleveland, Ohio.

OFFICIAL HONORED

The National Municipal League has given a Distinguished Citizen Award to Mrs. John G. Lee, national President of the League of Women Voters. The award reads: "For her steadfast devotion and faithful service to her community and her self-sacrificing efforts to make a reality of self-government. Her demonstration of responsible citizenship above and beyond the call of duty has made her community a better place in which to live and work and has given high encouragement and inspiration to the people of many other communities."

U. N. force dedicated to the preservation of peace. The assuming of such a responsibility is unprecedented in U. N. history and marks a real milestone in progress toward collective security.

PERSISTENT ISSUE

The same type of issue, involving the question of who is to pay for what, lies at the heart of the debates on economic development. For years most of the "have" countries have resisted the pleas of the "have-nots" for funds to set up a U.N. agency for economic development. But the issue refuses to die. The Colombian delegate reflected the views of the underdeveloped areas when he pointed out that the

desire for progress was so great that it had become "almost a psychosis" entailing grave new risks.

This year the United States presented a new proposal to establish a Special Projects Fund for increased U. N. technical assistance which, starting in 1959, would be enlarged from \$30 million to \$100 million. Contributions to the program would continue to be voluntary, with the United States putting up about 35 percent of the funds if the other countries paid the remaining 65 percent. The projects might include a survey of national resources and special training programs.

Many of the underdeveloped countries were highly suspicious of this proposal, fearing that it was

meant to take the steam out of the proposed economic development fund. Other delegates viewed the U. S. proposal not as a sabotaging operation but as a first step toward their desired development fund.

After weeks of negotiation a compromise was reached which largely supported the U. S. plan but did not close the door to a future economic development fund.

It will now be interesting to see if other countries will make matching contributions to the \$100 million fund. If they cannot do this much, then the United States will be in a position to repeat its present opposition to a large U. N. economic development fund on the ground that other countries are unable to support it financially.

Keeping Up With League Program

LOYALTY-SECURITY is a problem area dramatized by the Sputniks. For example, the Oppenheimer security risk case has been informally reopened. A *Washington Post* survey of the President's 17-man Science Advisory Committee found that a majority believe security clearance should be restored to the famous nuclear physicist. Other voices have been raised for his recall to government service.

A convention of the American Society for Industrial Security was held in Washington, D. C., October 28-30, with over 300 security personnel from government and industry represented. Points of view ranged from a stand that Russian achievements indicate that the program should be made more stringent, to the view that the program needlessly encroaches on individual liberties.

With an eye to the related problem of secrecy of government information, the Joint Atomic Energy Committee is considering revision of the Atomic Energy Act, and the House Government Information Subcommittee, which has long been considering this basic problem, has reopened hearings.

A look at all five loyalty-security programs may be taken by Congress next year. For a review on the status of the Commission on Government Security Report, ask

your publications chairman for the January 1958 "Report from the Hill."

WATER: In its first "Progress Report," December 1957, the Joint Federal-State Action Committee took the position that financing of municipal waste treatment plants is a state-local responsibility and that federal grants for their construction should cease.

In a news conference October 3, when asked what budget items could be cut, the President replied: "... I think pollution is strictly local in its character, and I think it belongs to local governments."

However, the president of the American Municipal Association, Mayor Ben West of Nashville, Tennessee, in a letter to the White House wrote: "Water pollution control is a vital element in the solution of the national program of water use and conservation. If the arms race and missile development require additional federal spending, then the government should find ways and means to get the necessary money without sacrificing existing domestic programs that are also essential to the nation's welfare."

Others, too, are distressed over the Committee recommendation and feel that water pollution must be checked and cleaned up before it halts the growth of cities, stifles

industrial expansion and endangers health.

A new book which water resource committees might wish to dip into is "Conservation: An American Story of Conflict and Accomplishment" by David Cushman Coyle. And have you read the League's "On the Water Front" and "Little Drops of Water"?

TRADE: The Administration has outlined its request for a 5-year extension of the Trade Agreements Act which comes up for renewal in the next session of Congress. Earlier the Vice President said "this action would demonstrate permanent and expanding interest of the United States in world trade." He added, "For the same

HAVE YOU HEARD . . .

. . . about the publications fashion show put on by the Michigan League? For example, "National Continuing Responsibilities" was modeled "for our more athletic member who likes to move quickly when the call to action comes." Details and script available for 10c from LWV of Michigan, 4612 Woodward Avenue, Detroit.

reason we should complete our membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation . . . not to join it would be an act of gross self-deception and would mislead the rest of the world as to our real interest and policy."

Unfortunately, protectionist forces are working for defeat of the whole program. Failing that, they hope to change the character of the Act by two restrictive amendments. One would remove the President's present discretionary powers over Tariff Commission recommendations by transferring them to Congress. The other would direct the Commission to recommend quotas rather than higher tariffs in many escape clause cases.

"Today's Challenge in Trade and Aid" is a new League publication which will help update you on this subject; it is a companion piece to "Cooperation or Confusion?" Recommended reading includes: Statement before House Subcommittee on Foreign Trade Policy, December 2, 1957, by William L. Batt of Committee for a National Trade Policy (available free from Committee, 1025 Connecticut Avenue, Washington 6, D. C.).

FROM THE MEMBER'S DESK

League procedures are continuously under re-examination to make them ever more responsive to the wishes and needs of members. The program-making process is much in the minds of members now, as local Leagues have only recently sent their program recommendations for 1958-60 to the national office. To elicit member reaction to the process, THE NATIONAL VOTER asked two "average members" to describe their own personal experience in program-making in their local Leagues.

Here are the results.

Do you agree?

FIVE years ago, as a new member of the League, I attended an excellent orientation meeting at which League procedures were explained. I was much impressed with the way in which in principle all program planning and policy-making start with the individual members of a local League.

As time went by, I occasionally asked myself if it really worked out that way in practice. Was it possible that the League publications we read in preparation for our discussions were really not impartial but were subtly slanted? Could it be that our discussion leaders innocently received biased information at training meetings and were leading our discussion toward a "consensus" that really originated on high? And when a Call to Action came did we really believe what we wrote our Congressmen or were we blindly repeating the League's official stand on the question?

Our recent unit meeting on program planning for the next biennium has brought these thoughts to mind again. I am convinced that our discussion was truly the result of independent and original thinking in our group. We had no direction from our local Board other than brief progress reports from the local committees working on the present Current Agenda items. These reports I felt were basic to our discussion.

I do question, however, the propriety of the article "Can Spring Be Far Behind?" in the October 1957 NATIONAL VOTER. It is very easy to be influenced by an article listing possible areas of work. As we are concentrating on the possibilities listed is it likely that we will suggest additional areas which have not been mentioned, or is it not natural and easier to stay with the list? Is this

not a form of direction from high places that I feared as a new member? If we are to preserve the character of our program planning technique, let *all* the suggestions for Current Agenda originate in the unit meetings.

N. W. (Indiana)

I CONSIDER myself an average League member and I would like to describe my reaction to the League's program-making process. For some time I have realized that, while there are many aspects of government and law about which I would like to be better informed, when we are asked in our unit meeting to express our preferences for local or national program, I usually confine myself to remarks about which items I have found most interesting and valuable in the past.

Since I have so far in my six-year membership in the League failed to join a resource group, I feel reluctant to suggest items for other people to study and present to me.

I think the reason that only a small percentage of League members serve on resource groups is that most of us spread our time, energy and abilities over such a large number of activities—church, PTA, Cub Scouts, Brownies, civic duties, not to mention housework and child care—that we almost cringe at the thought of making any additional effort, even for our beloved League.

It is probably true that the Board—both local and national—gives too much direction to our program-making process, but I can see no alternative until the average member herself takes a more active and creative part in League activities — particularly resource groups.

E. W. (Ohio)

BRAG BAG

"We can borrow Virginia's copy of 'Kill Only the Ivy' for Minnesota; they'll send it to Nevada who will get it to Shaker Heights; now, if the Greensburg League could get Delaware's . . ."

Did you get lost on the first turn? So did we—almost. The 50 prints of the film on the industrial security program (produced and distributed by the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund) haven't been lost (except for one), but they are doing a lot of traveling. Bulletins, letters, telegrams and long-distance telephone calls indicate that the film has been viewed in living rooms and community centers, by businessmen and army officers, firsthand and on television, across the nation—Hawaii, too.

Notices have been mixed. One critic told us how unstimulated she was, but many more comments are typified by "one of those rare combinations—exciting to watch, provocative and informative."

Publications on the subject of loyalty-security are equally in demand. "Liberty and Security" is now in its third printing, and has brought many orders from outside organizations such as church groups, industry, labor, veterans, six federal government agencies. Praise is generous: "splendid document . . . superb publication . . . masterful job . . . problems boiled down to the essence . . . invaluable . . . difficult task fairly and well done . . . fresh and appealing . . . readable and lively style, and its comprehensiveness is an outstanding quality."

"Just Suppose" is equally popular, and has been put to interesting use both inside and outside the League.

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